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If she was widowed, her husband's house was torn down and she lived with one of the sons. The most responsible of the latter then headed the family group and she, like the daughters accepted his decisions. When informant 26 was married against her will her mother took her side but "could say nothing against the men" her son and cousin. Again the difference in sex, which is marked in Papago life, is only partially expressed in the terms.

STEP PARENT CLASS. The step parent is assumed to be the junior aunt or uncle and is called by that term while he uses the reciprocal. Step parents are received very easily into the family. If not actually relatives, real or classificatory, they are still treated as such and given the corresponding place in the family group.

UNCLE CLASS. Tradition picked out the senior uncle as a special guide and mentor. The ceremonial guardian of a man undergoing purification called his protegé by the same term as would a senior paternal uncle or aunt and in rituals where the raingods are represented as addressing human beings, they also use the term. It would seem to point toward a specially protective attitude of the senior uncle and perhaps to his being chosen as a ceremonial godfather. At present there is no such practice nor remembrance of it. Behavior toward the senior uncle, who may once have been a godfather, and the junior uncle, who might be a stepfather, show the same intimate respect and if a maternal uncle or a distant uncle happened to join the family group, this behavior would be extended to him also (I. 4. B. and C; I. 1. F).

All uncles felt it their duty to admonish a child. "When I am with my uncle he always talks serious, telling me how to behave," (27). "If an uncle is left alone with a boy, of course he preaches to him. That is what he has to do" (22). "In the old days, people knew what was right because, besides their fathers, they had all their uncles to talk to them" (5).

An uncle took this leading position even if he was no older than his nephews. I. 8. E. 1 had nephews even older than himself but acted always as their head and protector. He looked after their cattle when he was six and they ten. When his older siblings went to cactus camp, he was the one left at home to take care of their children. He arranged the chores for his nephews and stopped their quarrels by a mere command. His status continued into adult life.

The same obligations might fall to a maternal uncle or to a distant uncle if he happened to form part of the family group. I. 8. E. 1 arranged a marriage for his classificatory niece with a man as old as himself and this man has respectfully taken his orders ever since.

Nephews owed an uncle help and support almost as if he were a

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604 father. The younger brother of informant 22 lived permanently with an uncle who had no son to tend his field and had commandeered a nephew. If an uncle, for some reason, had no land, he assumed the right to share that of nephews or nieces on either side of the house (I. 1. F; I. 6. D. 3; I. 5. E. 1). An aged uncle, with no near relatives would expect to be cared for by a nephew or niece. Informant 22 lives with his younger sister's daughter part of the time and part with a female cousin, exact relationship unknown.

On the other hand, a nephew could expect support and help from an uncle almost as from a father. If his parents died, he naturally entered the house of one of his uncles in the same family group. Even when adult, if he had no group of his own, he would seek that of an aunt or uncle and be accepted like an own child. (I. 6. D. 2). When ceremonial payments had to be made for him, it was his uncle, quite as often as his father, who provided them, (payment was made for I. 1. A. 1 by a father's younger brother).

When uncle and nephew were not in the same group, a gift-giving relationship was often maintained between them. This depended, apparently on their distance apart and the number of other obligations upon each. A distant uncle might invite his nephews to harvest for him and take a share of the produce (I. 1. I; I. 1. A. 2) or he might visit periodically, bringing gifts. (I. 1. I)

Aunts usually lived at a distance, since they were expected to marry into another village, but there were many exceptions. A mother's younger sister was often the father's co-wife and treated very like the mother. Any sister of the father's might have returned to use the ancestral land and then would be an intimate member of the group, taking almost as much responsibility for the girl as did her mother. When cooked food was distributed, a child might make daily trips to the aunt's house with a food bowl, receiving gifts and instruction (I. 1. A. 4; I 8. E. 7).

[867] Aunts admonished their nieces and nephews much as uncles did. Just as ritual points to the senior paternal uncle as a ceremonial godfather, so the senior paternal aunt is a godmother. However, the office is not legendary but was in use a short time ago at the time of a girl's puberty. At this period, a girl was secluded for four days in the company of an older woman who trained her in industry and lectured her on the duties of marriage. The oldest informant, though she knew of no rule for the selection of this woman, remembered that the person chosen was her senior paternal aunt (26).

As with the uncles, even a distant aunt or one younger than oneself was entitled to respect. "Lupa, older than I, is my distant niece. At a fiesta, she always comes to speak to me, knowing it is not my place to speak to her" (32).